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TO THE LOYAL PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

In the month of November, next ensuing, electors are to be chosen in the several Loyal States, who are to select by ballot a President and Vice-President of the United States for the next Presidential term of four years, commencing on the Fourth of March, 1865. In preparation for this event, nominations have been informally made by editors of newspapers and by various political bodies, as a means of influencing the politieal conventions which are expected ultimately to make more formal nominations for these offices. Much excitement has already been produced by these nominations, reaching not only those engaged in civil affairs, but also the officers and men who compose our present army.

Among those spoken of for the office of President, in addition to the present incumbent, are distinguished Major Generals, some of whom are now in the field, one or more members of the present cabinet of Mr. Lincoln, and the Governor of the State of New York. There are others,

2

doubtless, who aspire to this great honor. The United States is now involved in one of those momentous emergencies of nations, in which a departure from the ordinary policy of submission to conventions may be made with advantage. The undersigned have therefore determined to address their fellow-citizens of the United States on this subject, in order to present the name of Abraham Lincoln for re-election to the Presidency, and to urge the formation of associations of an independent character in every State, such as will unite in forming electoral tickets for this object. Suggestions for this purpose will be matured and submitted. The character of Mr. Lincoln for integrity, for patriotism, for zeal, for prudence, for wisdom, for courage, has been proved by nearly four years of administration under difficulties, such as have been encountered by no other Administration from the origin of the Constitution, impressing us with the conviction that Providence designed him for the perilous duties which he has performed with signal advantage to the country. But if he had been less conspicuous for qualities and services which have endeared him to the American people, war is not a time to incur the great hazard of a change of administration, accompanied as it is expected to be, and as it doubtless would be, with infinite changes of incumbents, in all the departments of civil life, and, perhaps, throughout the army itself. The peril of such a change would be fatal to the object, now the dearest one to every loyal heart, to restore the complete ascendancy of our Government in every State and Territory over which its dominion is disputed, and to give to the United States its former extent, power, unity, and glory. There are those, undoubtedly, who, feeling the force of these truths, and animated by this object, disagree with the President in his Proclamations issued as Commander-in-Chief of our forces. But,

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whatever may have been the true policy and the extent of power with respect to them, those Proclamations have gone forth, and their effect must now depend, not on what a new incumbent of the Presidency may decide, nor, indeed, on what a new Congress may decide, but wholly on the decision of a tribunal already constituted, and which cannot be materially changed—the Supreme Judicial Tribunal of the United States. That tribunal will determine, whether or not, as a measure of war, Emancipation, wholly or partially, came within the powers of the person commanding all the forces of the United States, and who is authorized, in order to put down the formidable rebellion still in progress, to use all the means required. In one aspect of the case, the Court might review the question of fact, whether or not in its full extent, it was necessary—a point which the President has decided—which, in most cases, would be deemed conclusive. This justice to the President all will render, that Emancipation was proclaimed, not to carry out any pre-conceived purpose of those who before had aimed at the abolition of Slavery,—but solely, and after abundant notice and timely caution, as one of the means of adding to the numerical force of our armies in the field—of weakening a powerful enemy—preventing the intervention of foreign powers—and finally and thoroughly crushing a Rebellion, which, had it succeeded, would have involved the Northern States in never-ending conflicts, till the mastery of one side or the other had finally prevailed over the United States.

Whether this measure was politic or impolitic, to correct it in the midst of war, would be fatal, if not impossible—although this is clearly the object of those who seek to elect a President entertaining other views, and who, if they do not desire to aid the Rebellion by their influence, would establish it on the

basis of ultimate success, if their measures of confusion and discord were thrust upon the country. The only mode consistent with safety by which the effect of the Proclamation may be tested is, first, submission to the authority of the United States; and then, a full discussion and determination of the rights which it affects. The authors of the Rebellion staked their fortunes and their lives upon its success. What shall be left to those who attempted to destroy a government which they had known only by the benefits and blessings it conferred, is to be determined by the issues of the conflict, now not uncertain, and by the discussions which this question will occasion.

There is an evident desire on the part of patriotic citizens to reward some of our most distinguished soldiers with Presidential honors. The bravery, devotion, skill, and courage of those who have won renown for our country is not at all questioned, and when their duties in war are terminated with final success, it will, doubtless, become the policy and duty of the country to place in civil life and in the highest posts those whose experience will justify it, and who have periled their lives in our behalf. It will doubtless be the means of correcting the corruption now so prevalent in political bodies—legislative, municipal and other—imparting to legislation and administrations of office the character of providing for personal, pecuniary and private interests instead of the public good;—but these influences have never touched the President, who stands pure in the midst of corruption, and who, if every energy of his mind were not employed in the mighty struggle of the nation, would make war against these internal foes of free government, not less energetically than against those, scarcely more dangerous, the leaders of the Rebellion.

We earnestly implore the people of the United States,—if

they would sustain our free institutions, if they would protect their most inestimable rights, if they would preserve their homes, their families, their social and higher privileges, if they would have the legacy of a beneficent government to leave to their posterity, if they would show to the governments of the world that we are a nation determined to protect its unity against foes without and within,—that they be not led away from these objects by the wish to reward any of the military heroes who have entitled themselves to our gratitude and affection by imposing victories, and who, in time, will be rewarded with grateful honors—the highest a free people can bestow,—and especially that they will not permit a change of rulers in the midst of this momentous emergency of the nation, when all its power must be directed, without the cessation resulting from change, to the one great object—the speedy and certain overthrow of the Rebellion. A scramble for place, a division of the spoils of office, a contest for the contracts of the Government, are damaging even in the midst of peace; but the country could present no spectacle so hurtful as an election with these objects during war, nor one so certain to weaken our armies in the field and strengthen the hands of the ambitious and dangerous leaders of the Rebellion.

Mr. Lincoln has exhibited a competency for the office equal to all its high duties. In his communications to the public, the issues presented have been presented with a clearness and homely force which make the points clear to all. His correspondence with officers of the army on all the topics discussed and with respect to all the movements of our forces, prove that he fully grasps the whole subject, and that he is in truth and in fact the President. His assiduity in office has never been surpassed. Indeed, he may be justly styled a patriot President, devoted solely to the welfare of his country. In

ordinary times, his eminent fitness and great services would have entitled him to a re-election; but this being the true interest of the people, is especially desirable now, when his expulsion from office would be hailed with joy by every secret as well as every open enemy of the Union.

NEW YORK, *Jan. 18th*, 1864.



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